THE

Lord *Belhaven*'s Speech

In Parliament, the 15*th* day of *November* 1706, on the Second Article of the Treaty.

Hamilton (John) 2nd Baron Belhaven

My Lord Chancellor,

YOur Lordship may Remember the last day, when we had under Consideration, whether to proceed to the *Fourth* or *Second Article*, That I did Witness my Concern and Resentment, to find so many Honourable and Worthy Members of this House, so forward to finish the Demands of *England*, in this Treaty; without taking Notice of any one Article, that could be properly said to relate to the Demands of *Scotland*.

Now, that we are entered upon the *Second Article*, I desire to be resolved in one *QUESTION*, *What are the Motives, that should engage us to take* England's *Successor upon their own Terms?* Is it not strange, that no *ANSWER* should be given to this Question, save that, *When you come to consider the rest of the Articles, you shall be satisfied on that Demand?* This is a new way of Arguing, *My Lord*, a Method without Precedent, Transverting Nature; and looks more like

Deſign than Fair-Dealing. I profeſs, I think the huge and Prodigious Rains, that we have had of late, have either drowned out, or found out another Channel for *Reaſoning*, than what was formerly; for by what I can ſee by this *New Method*, the Agreeing to the *Firſt* Article, ſhall be found a ſufficient Reaſon, why we ſhould agree to the *Second*, and the Agreeing to the *Second* for the *Third*, and ſo for all.

If there was ever ſuch a Farce acted; if ever Reaſon was *Hudibras'd*, this is the time: conſult all the Treaties ſince the beginning of the World to this day, and if you can find any one Precedent, I ſhall yield the Cauſe.

I ſhall Inſtance, *My Lord*, one for all, and that is, The firſt and worſt Treaty that ever was ſet on foot for Mankind; and yet, I am ſorry to ſay it, there appears more Ingenuity in it, than in our Procedure: When the *Serpent* did Deceive our Mother *Eve*, he propoſed three Advantages, before he preſum'd to Adviſe her to *Eat the forbidden Fruit*: The *Firſt* was, taken from the *Sight*, the *Second* from the *Taſte*, and the *Third* from the *Advantage* following thereupon. That from the *Sight*, was inforced by a *Behold, how lovely and comely a thing it is, it's pleaſant to the Eye*. That from the *Taſte*, from a Perſwaſion, that it was Good for Nouriſhment, *it's good for Food*. That from the *Advantage*, it will *make you wiſe, ye ſhall be as the Gods*; therefore, upon all theſe Conſiderations, *Eat*. Al-

Allow me, *My Lord*, to run the Parallel of this, with Relation to our Procedure in this *Treaty*.

Upon the first Account that our Nation had, of the Treaty's being finished betwixt the two Nations, People appeared all generally very well satisfied, as a thing that would tend to the Removal of all Jealousies, and the settling a good Understanding betwixt the two Kingdoms. But so soon as the *Articles of the Treaty* appeared in Print, the very Sight of them, made such a Change, as is almost inconceivable; they were so far from being pleasant to the Eye, *My Lord*, that the Nation appears to abhor them.

One would think, *My Lord*, That it had been the Interest of those who are satisfied with the Thing, to have gone immediately into the Merits of these particular Articles which relate to *Scotland*, and to have said, 'Gentlemen, be not affrighted with their 'ugly Shape, they are better than they are bonny; 'Come, Taste, come make a narrow Search and In-'quiry, they are good for *Scotland*, the wholesomest 'Food that a Decaying Nation can take: You shall 'find the Advantages, you shall find a Change of 'Condition, you shall become Rich immediately; 'you shall be like the *English*, the most Flourishing 'and Richest People of the Universe.

But our Procedure, *My Lord*, hath been very far from the Prudence of the *Serpent*; for all our Arguments have run upon this blunt Topick, *Eat, swallow*

down this Incorporating Union, tho it please neither Eye nor Taste, it must go over: You must believe your Physicians, and we shall consider the Reasons for it afterwards.

I wish, *My Lord*, That our Loss be not in some small manner Proportionable to that of our First Parents, they thought to have been Incorporate with the Gods: But in place of that, they were justly Expelled Paradise, Lost their Sovereignty over the Creatures, and were forced to Earn their Bread with the Sweat of their Brows.

My Lord Chancellor, I have heard a Proposal, made from the other Side by the Marquis of *Annandale*; That in place of Agreeing to this *Second Article*, wherein the Succession is to be Declared, as a Consequence of our being United to *England* in one Kingdom, we should immediately go to Intail our Crown upon the Illustrious Family of *Hannover*, upon such Conditions and Limitations as are in our own Power to make, for the Security of our Sacred and Civil Concerns. I think, This is the Import of what his Lordship gave in, by a Resolve formerly, and hath told this Honourable House, That he thinks, he acts Consequentially to his Former declared Principles, and that this is now the only *Measure*, which can settle and secure the Peace and Quiet of this Nation, & fix a Firm Security for the Protestant Interest, and a perfect Understanding betwixt the two Nations.

I have also heard a Discourse, by his Grace the

Duke of *Hamilton*, ſhewing, That ever ſince his Grace had the Honour to be a Member of this Honourable Houſe, he had made it his Buſineſs to ſerve the Sovereign and his Nation faithfully and honeſtly, without any By-ends, By-views, or Self-Intereſt; That before the Affair of the Succeſſion was Tabled in *Scotland*, he had endeavoured to promote the Intereſt of his Nation, by Good Laws, and by the beſt Counſels he was capable to give, for rectifying Things amiſs, and advancing the ſolid Intereſt of his Country; That ſince the Affair of the Succeſſion came to be Conſidered, he could never give himſelf the Liberty to believe, but that previous to any Settlement, we ought to have had ſuch Condeſcenſions with Relation to Trade and Commerce from *England*, as might Retrive the Loſſes the Nation hath ſuſtained from them, ever ſince the Union of the Two Crowns under one Sovereign; and that thereupon, to prevent all Faction and Party in the Treating of an Affair of ſuch Importance, he had freely left the Nomination of the Lords Commiſſioners to Her Majeſty, and wiſhes the Choice had been Anſwerable to his Deſign: But none can accuſe him as Bargaining for himſelf, ſince he has no Reaſon to Complain of the Breach of any Stipulation upon that Head; That now having Conſidered the Articles of this Treaty lying before us, and the Fatal Conſequences that may follow upon the Finiſhing

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of an Incorporating Union with *England*, with the general *Averſation* that *appears by the Addreſſes from the ſeveral Shires of the Kingdom*, and particularly from *the Addreſs of the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, and of the Royal Burrows of* Scotland; he finds it neceſſary to alter his Thoughts of that Matter, That he was none of theſe who loved to keep Things Looſe and in Confuſion; He had an Eſtate in both Kingdoms, and therefore it was not to be ſuppoſed, he would make uſe only of a Treaty, to throw out the Succeſſion one time; and of the Succeſſion, to throw off the Treaty another time. Therefore to prevent worſe Conſequences, he is content, That in this Parliament, the Succeſſion be Declared and Settled upon the Illuſtrious Princeſs *Sophia* Electoreſs of *Hannover* and the Heirs of Her Body, upon ſuch Conditions and Limitations as ſhall be found neceſſary by this Parliament, to ſecure our Civil Rights and Liberties, the Independency and Sovereignty of the Nation, and the Presbyterian Government of this Church, as it is Founded upon the *Claim of Right*, and Eſtabliſhed by Law, and whoſe Privileges and Settlement he Reſolves to Support with the Outmoſt of his Power.

And therefore, his Grace thinks himſelf Obliged with all Humility in this preſent Juncture of Affairs, to addreſs himſelf particularly to His Grace My Lord Commiſſioner, and to beg of his Grace, That he would

be pleaſed to acquaint Her Majeſty with the True State of the Nation, and with the Propoſal made for Allaying the preſent Ferment and Settling a Solid Peace and Good Underſtanding betwixt Her Two Kingdoms, and that a ſmall Receſs may be granted in the mean time, till Her Majeſty's Gracious Anſwer come, which with all Submiſſion he conceives will prevent theſe Bad Conſequences, that the further Puſhing on of this Treaty may occaſion. I think, *My Lord*, this is materially what his Grace ſaid, tho' not ſo fully nor ſo well expreſſed.

Now, *My Lord*, it remains, that I give Account of my ſelf and of my own Opinion of this Affair: All who know me, *My Lord*, know that I have been from the beginning on a Revolution foot; I ventured my Life and Fortune with the Firſt, and I have ever ſince acted Conſequentially to my Principle. It's true I was never a good Courtier under any Reign; becauſe I had a Rule for my Obedience, and never made Obedience my Rule; my Reputation was never ſtained, Nor had I ever any Reproach laid upon me, ſave when I was brought in, head over ears, in a *SCOTS* PLOT, *A Plot, very well known, deſign'd to blaſt the Reputation of a Set of People, the beſt affected to the Sovereign, and to the true Intereſt of their Nation, that ever* Scotland *bred.* What my Opinion was with Relation to the Succeſſion is very well known alſo, I lookt upon Limitations with another

ther Eye, than ſome others were pleaſed to do, I was far from Treating them in Ridicule, becauſe as all Human Affairs, they are lyable to Alterations, and might be taken off: that Argument proves too much, and Conſequently proves nothing at all. Should a Man refuſe to have a good Eſtate ſettled upon him, becauſe he may ſquander it away, and become Bankrupt? Muſt a Good Law be refuſed, becauſe it may afterwards be Repealed? No, *My Lord.* Where the Power is lodged in our ſelves, we have all Human Security Imaginable for the Thing; It is not ſo, where the Power is lodged in others: therefore I ſhall alwiſe Chooſe that Security, which depends u-

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This, *My Lord*, hath Confirmed me, That Limitations of our own making is the beſt Security: tho I alwiſe thought them not the Full, of what we ought, for the going into the *Engliſh* ſucceſſion. For Conſidering the Injuries, that we have received from them, we ought to have Reparation upon this Bargain: and I think without Incorporating with them, they might have given us ſome ſmall Incouragement in our Trade with them, which would have been profitable unto us, & no manner of way prejudicial unto them, as I can clearly Demonſtrate, if there be Occaſion for it. But ſince this is not the proper Place nor Seaſon for ſuch Propoſals, I ſhall go in with the Propoſal made by the Marquis of *Annandale*, and fortified by his Grace the Duke of *Hamilton*; becauſe I think, it is the beſt that we can make of it at this time, the fitteſt Meaſure to prevent Civil Wars, after the Ferment of the Nation and far preferable to *that Incorporating Union*, which *now is* [illegible] Houſe appears [illegible] Moſt Unpaſſionable.